1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

532 reindeer from straying away, and, as often happens, from getting lost. When
788 a reindeer is slaughtered, the sacred fire-board is taken out and smeared with
233 blood. Instead of a grass collar, the Reindeer Koryak put on it a tie made of the hair from the mane of a reindeer-buck.

Among the Maritime group, as well as among the Reindeer Koryak, the sacred fire-board is connected with the family welfare, and therefore it must not be carried into a strange house. But if two families join for the winter and live in one house, in order to obviate the necessity of procuring fuel for two houses, both take their own charms along into the common house, [428] without risk to their effectiveness by so doing. The sacred fire-board is usually transmitted to the younger son, — or to the younger daughter, provided her husband remains in his father-in-law's house and the brothers establish new houses for themselves or raise separate herds. Often fire-boards are found that have outlasted two, three, or more generations.

778 THE DRUM. — The drum (ya'yai), which, as will be seen later on, plays
● 534 an important rôle in ceremonials and shamanistic performances, at the same
592 time ranks with the sacred fire-board as one of the guardians of the household. The drum is the master of the sleeping-apartment where it is kept. Every married couple has a drum of their own. A bride who has her own sleeping-tents also possesses her own drum. The drum is especially held in esteem by the Reindeer Koryak. Just as a herd cannot exist without a sacred fire-board, so a family cannot get along without a drum.

778 KAMAKS AND KALAKS. — A large class of guardian charms are called
342 kamaks and kalaks,[1] — the same names as are applied to the hostile spirits described before.[2] It appears from this that these names do not always signify a thing harmful and evil, like the Yakut word abasy'.[3]

In distinction from the evil spirits, this class of "charm-guardians" are often called otkamak, or okkamak; that is, "wooden kamak." By the Maritime Koryak, the most important place among the wooden kamaks is assigned to the one considered as guardian of the inhabited place. It cannot, however, be called "guardian of the village," in the sense of guardian of the community, since the social organization of the Koryak is so loose that the term "community" cannot very well be applied. The wooden kamak (okkamak) is considered rather as a guardian of the habitation. He is also called Nimyo'lhin, which signifies "habitation," and he appears as a guardian or master of it.

The "guardian of the habitation" has the shape of a post, tapering at the top, and sometimes forked, the thinner branch representing the arm of the charm. It is located close to the village, usually on a hill overlooking

[1] The Koryak plural of kamak is ka'maku. Since kamak has been used with an English plural (Bogoras, Anthropologist, p. 631), the English plural has been used here.

[2] See p. 27.

[3] Abasy' (*pl.* abasyla'r) means not only "evil spirit," corresponding to the Koryak kala or to the Chukchee kele, but everything harmful in nature.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak Ry4

who was all covered with syphilitic ulcers, but whom I had no opportunity of seeing, did not die because she was supported by her guardian spirits. On the other hand, child-birth may result in a complete or temporary loss of shamanistic power. During the period of menstruation a woman is not permitted to touch a drum.

Eme'mqut's shamanistic power disappeared after the mythical Triton had bewitched him, and caused him to give birth to a boy. His power was restored to him after his sister had killed the Triton's sister, by which deed the act of giving birth was completely eliminated.[1] Tale 113 also tells of the transformation of men into women. Illa' dressed himself like a woman and went to his neighbors. When River-Man (Veye'mıla'n), the neighbor's son, recognized him, Illa', in revenge, filled him with the continual desire to become a woman.

In Tale 129 Kilu''s brother became pregnant with twins. When he was unable to give birth, his sister took out his entrails and put the entrails of a mouse in their place. After the children had been born, she replaced his entrails. Apparently the tranformation was not complete in this case.

Family Shamanism. *The Drum.* — In the chapter on guardians and charms I referred to the drum as a household guardian. In connection with professional shamanism I mentioned that the drum is closely connected with shamanistic performances, but not with the person of the shaman, as is the case among other Asiatic shamans. I shall point out here the part played by the drum in family shamanism.

The power of the drum lies in the sounds emitted by it. On the one hand, the rhythm and change of pitch produced by skilful beating with the stick evoke an emotional excitement in primitive man, thus placing the drum in the ranks of a musical instrument. On the other hand, the sound of the drum, just like the human voice or song, is in itself considered as something living, capable of influencing the invisible spirits. The stick is the tongue of the drum, the Yukaghir say. As seen from Tale 9, The-Master-on-High himself, in his creative activity, needs a drum. Big-Raven borrowed the drum from him, and gave it to men.

The following song, which was sung while beating the drum by a Reindeer Koryak woman of the Taigonos Peninsula, and which may be regarded as a prayer to the Creator (Tenanto'mwan), to whom it was addressed, characterizes the relation of the latter to the acquiring of the drum by man.

Text.

"Gı'ča ivi'hi' 'ya'yai getei'kilin' nıme'leu mını'tvala qoya'u evi'yıke ı'mtĥ
"Thou said, 'drum make' well (we) shall live the reindeer not dying also

yava'letın kımi'ñu nıme'leu."
afterwards children well (let live)."

[1] See Tale 85.

l: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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Free Translation.

"You said to us, 'Make a drum.' Now let us live well, keep alive also the reindeer, and after our death grant good living to our children."

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In accordance with the dual character of the drum, as a musical instrument and as a sacred object in the household, it is not exclusively used for ritual purposes. Every member of the family may beat the drum. It is beaten for amusement, for enchantment, for propitiation of the gods, for summoning spirits, and also during family and ceremonial festivals. In every family, however, there is one particular member who becomes especially skilful in the art of beating the drum, and who officiates at all the ceremonies in the series of festivals. Women usually excel in the art of beating the drum (Plate III).

The Koryak drum (ya'yai) is somewhat oval in shape. The specimen represented in Fig. 19, front and back views of which are shown, is a typical

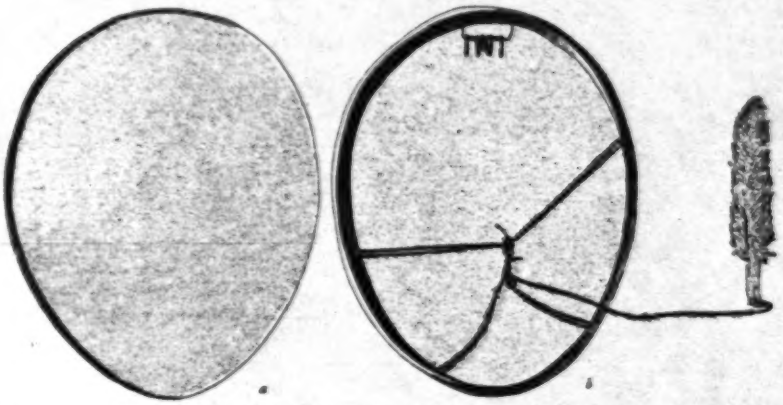

Fig. 19 ($\frac{1}{11\frac{1}{12}}$). Koryak Drum. *a*, Outer Side; *b*, Inner Side and Drum-Stick.

[271] Koryak drum in size and form. Its long diameter is 73 cm.; the width of its rim is 5 cm., and the length of the stick 45 cm. The membrane covers the drum only on one side. It is made of reindeer-hide. The Maritime Koryak [237] sometimes make the drum-head of the skin of a dog or of that of a young spotted seal. The drum-stick is made of a thick strip of whalebone, which is wider at the end that strikes the drum than at the other end, and is covered [283] with skin from a wolf's tail. Inside of the drum, at four points in the rim, near its edge, are tied double cords made of nettle-fibre, which meet at the lower part of the drum and form the handle. These cords are not arranged symmetrically, but all towards one side of the drum. At the top edge of the rim are attached iron rattles. There is no doubt that the custom of attaching

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There is no doubt that the custom of attaching such rattles to the drum has been borrowed from the Tungus. Not all of the Koryak drums that I saw had iron rattles. The drum, before being used, is heated by the fire. Thus the hide is made taut, and the sounds become clearer and more sonorous.

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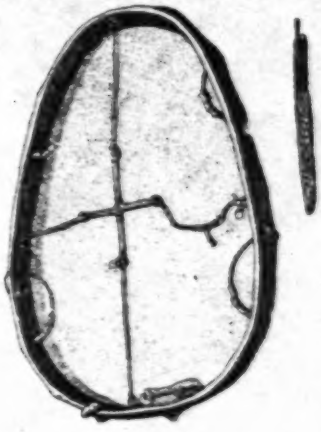

Fig. 20 ($\frac{1}{11}\frac{1}{12}$). Yukaghir Drum and Drum-Stick.

It is very interesting to compare the Koryak drum with other Asiatic drums which I collected. Fig. 20 represents a Yukaghir drum.[1] Its longitudinal diameter is 88 cm., the width of the rim is 6.2 cm., and the length of the stick is 42 cm. The Yukaghir drum is asymmetrical — somewhat egg-shaped — in form. It is also covered with hide on one side only. Inside of the drum there is an iron cross near the centre, which serves as a handle. The ends of the cross are tied to the rim by means of straps. Iron rattles are attached at four places on the inner side of the rim. This kind of drum is similar to that of the Yakut. This similarity may be observed not only in its shape, the cross, and the iron rattles, but also in the small protuberances on the outer surface of the rim, which are especially characteristic of the Yakut drum. They represent the horns of the shaman's spirits. Judging from what the old people among the Yukaghir relate, in olden times their drums had no metallic parts, and were apparently like those of the Koryak. The metallic parts were borrowed from the Yakut. The Yukaghir drum is, however, larger in size than that of the Yakut, and its rim is not so wide. The stick is covered with skin of reindeer-legs. The drum-head is made of reindeer-hide.

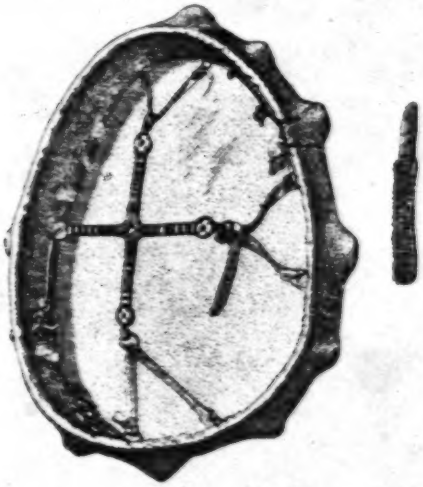

Fig. 21 ($\frac{1}{12}\frac{1}{7}$). Yakut Drum and Drum-Stick.

The Yakut drum (Fig. 21) is

[1] When in use, the drum is held with the broad end up, which is also the case with the Yakut drum shown in the next figure.

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covered with hide of a young bull. Its longitudinal diameter is 53 cm.; the width of the rim, 11 cm.; and the length of the stick, 32 cm. The wider part of the stick is covered with cowhide. There are twelve protuberances representing horns.[1] The cross inside is attached to the rim by means of straps. Little bells and other metallic rattles are attached inside around the rim.

The long diameter of the Tungus drum (Fig. 22) is 53 cm. In size and shape it is almost like that of the Yakut; but its rim is narrower, in one specimen only 7 cm. wide. The drum has no protuberances. The ends of the cross are attached to the rim by means of a twisted iron wire. The iron rattles are in the form of rings strung upon wire bows attached to the rim.

In comparing Asiatic with American drums, we observe that in most cases the Eskimo drums are not large. The only large drums are found among the tribes of the west coast of Hudson Bay. They are either oval (but not asymmetrical) or round; the rim is very narrow, like a hoop; and a wooden handle is attached to the rim,[2] like that of a hand mirror (Fig. 23). Mr. J. Murdoch, in his paper on the Point Barrow Eskimo,[3]

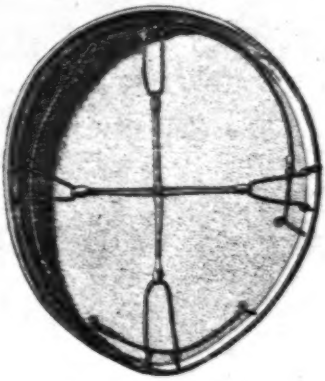

Fig. 22 ($\frac{1}{11}\frac{1}{7}$). Tungus Drum and Drum-Stick.

Fig. 23 ($\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{7}$). Eskimo Drum. Diameter, 87 cm.

says that such drums are used by the Eskimo from Greenland to Siberia. The drum in Murdoch's illustration is somewhat oval in form (55 cm. by 47.5 cm.).

The Chukchee use the same kind of drum (Fig. 24) as the Eskimo. The Chukchee, as well as the Eskimo, strike the lower part of the drum with the stick.

[1] Sieroszewsky (p. 635) says that the protuberances are always in odd numbers: 5, 7, and 11.
[2] Potanin (IV, p. 678) tells that divinators in China use drums with handles.
[3] Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1887-88, p. 385.

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The Koryak drum approaches the Asiatic drum, but its handle is not of metal: it does not form a cross, and is not placed in the centre, but nearer to the lower edge. All asymmetrical drums are held (in the left hand) in such a way that the wider part of the oval points upward. Since the handle of the Koryak drum is not in the centre, it is held, when being beaten, in a slanting position, so that the stick strikes at the lower part of the membrane. Other Asiatic drums are mostly struck in the centre.

On the American Continent, proceeding from the Eskimo southward, we find among the Indians small, round, broad-rimmed drums used for purposes of shamanism, as well as in dancing-houses.

Fig. 24 ($\frac{1}{11}$). Chukchee Drum.

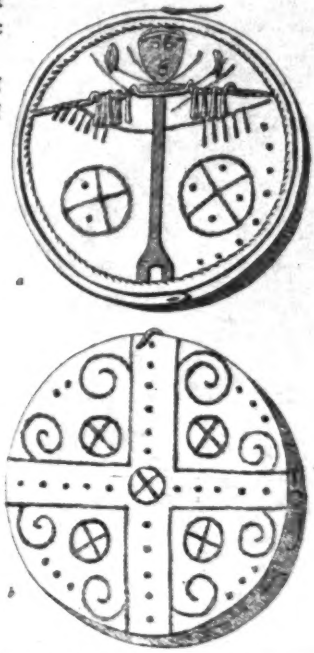

Fig. 25. Altai Drum. *a*, Inner Side; *b*, Outer Side.

It is interesting to note, that, according to Potanin's description,[1] the drums of northwestern Mogolia and those of the natives of the Russian part of the Altai Mountains have not the egg-shaped form common to East Siberian drums. They are round, and not large in size. Fig. 25 represents both sides of an Altai drum, according to Mr. Potanin.[2] Circles and crosses representing drums, and other curved lines, are drawn upon the outer and inner sides of the membrane. Some Altai drums have drawings of animals, like those on

[1] Potanin, IV, pp. 44, 679.

[2] Ibid., Plate XIII, Figs. 68, 69.

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drums of the North-American Indians. Instead of the cross, which serves as a handle, we see on the Altai drum a vertical wooden stick, representing a human figure, passing through the centre of the circle, and a horizontal iron chord with rattles. The drum is held by the wooden stick, and not at the intersection of the stick and the iron crossbar.[1] In American drums, which have a single head only, the straps attached to the hollow side, and crossing each other, serve as a handle. These straps frequently form, not a cross, but a number of radii. According to Dr. Finsch's description,[2] the drums of the Samoyed and of the Ob-Ostyak are, like the Altai drums, round in shape, broad-rimmed, covered on one side only, and have a diameter of from 30 cm. to 50 cm.

Drums covered on both sides with hide, like those found among the North-American Indians, together with drums covered on but one side, are used in Siberia only by the Buddhists (for instance, the Buryat), who use them in their divine services. These drums are of a circular form, and have leather handles attached to the outer edge of the rim.

I do not know whether the Koryak word for "drum" (ya'yai) has any other meaning; but the Yukaghir word (ya'lgil) means "lake," that is, the lake into which the shaman dives in order to descend into the kingdom of shades. This is very much like the conception of the Eskimo, the souls of whose shamans descend into the lower world of the deity Sedna. The Yakut and Mongol regard the drum as the shaman's horse, on which he ascends to the spirits in the sky, or descends to those of the lower world.

Incantations.

The significance of family shamanism will become clearer by a discussion of the festivals of the Koryak. It seems desirable, however, to treat first the magic formulas used by them. In almost every family there is some woman, usually an elderly one, who knows some magic formulas; but in many cases some particular women become known as specialists in the practice of incantations, and in this respect rival the powers of professional shamans.

The belief regarding magic formulas is, that the course of events may be influenced by spoken words, and that the spirits frequently heed them; or that an action related in the text of an incantation will be repeated, adapted to a given case. In this way, diseases are treated, amulets and charms are consecrated, animals that serve as food-supply are attracted, and evil spirits are banished.

All incantations originate from the Creator (Tenanto'mwan). He bequeathed

[1] Potanin (IV, p. 679) calls attention to the similarity of the cruciform figures on the drum to similar figures on the clay cylinders discovered in Italy, and considered to belong to the pre-Etruscan period (Mortillet, Le Signe de la Croix avant le Christianisme: Paris, 1886, pp. 80, 95, 96); but it does not seem to me that the sign of the cross on the drum-handle had in itself any religious or symbolical meaning.

[2] Finsch, p. 530, Plates 45, 47.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

same may be said of the metal bracelets. I have already described iron bracelets. Two made of brass are represented in Fig. 149, *a* and *b*.

The jew's-harp shown in Fig. 149, *c*, is made of brass. Usually this instrument is made of bone. The needle-case (Fig. 149, *d*) is made of two gun-cartridges, and has brass and iron pendants.

The copper of worn-out teapots is used by the Koryak for patching and riveting damaged copper vessels. Spears and large knives are inlaid with copper and partly with brass. First the designs, representing chevron ornaments and various kinds of curves, are incised with a steel chisel. Then copper shavings are driven in with a hammer, and the weapons are smoothed off with a file.[1]

Silver-work, smelting, or cold-hammering are unknown to the Koryak; though the blacksmiths of the Tungus and Yakut, the tribes nearest to them, work also in silver. The Tungus work is done cold only, while the Yakut have attained a high degree of proficiency as silversmiths. With a hammer they beat out various ornaments and other objects from pieces of silver; smelt silver in crucibles of their own manufacture, made of fire-proof clay, and then pour the smelted metal into moulds; make alloys of silver with other metals; engrave the most complicated designs on silver ornaments; and enamel silver after the style of the Circassians. The material for this work is supplied mainly by old silver objects and silver coins.[2]

Fig. 149, *a* ($\frac{11}{17}$), *b* ($\frac{11}{17}$), Brass Bracelets; *c* ($\frac{11}{12}$), Jew's-Harp made of Brass; *d* ($\frac{11}{17}$), Needle-Case made of a Cartridge.

Tungus smiths hammer silver coins into small ornaments, such as earrings, rings, buttons, buckles, or little thin disks for breast-ornaments, and polish these with a file and soft leather made of reindeer-skin. The Tungus buy larger and more ornamental silver objects, such as belts, pendants for coats, and ornaments for hair-dressing, from the Yakut.

[1] For ornamentation on knives and arms, see Figs. 142, 143, 189, 193, 195.

[2] In the Yakut Province, stories are in circulation that certain Yakut silversmiths reduce silver from ore, but carefully conceal the location of the mines. I could not verify the truth of these tales.

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of the legends describe the various adventures and tricks of the raven; they represent him as a cunning lecherous old man who constantly deceives his wife Miti and his numerous sons and daughters. 773

Some of the legends deal with the adventures of the raven's older son Ememkut (or Amamkut), a much nobler and more heroic figure than his father. The characters in the legends about the raven Kuykynnayaku and about Ememkut are half-human, half-animal: wolf-like, bear-like, fox-like, magpie-like and partridge-like creatures, a root-man, a grass-woman, and many others. These beings act like people, but they also possess the qualities of the animal or plant whose name they bear.

Historical legends, in contrast to the myths which are prevalent among all the Koryaks, are of a local nature: each territorial group of Koryaks has its own cycle of legends. The Chavchuvens, for example, have stories of clashes with Chukchi; the Apukintsy, of clashes with reindeer-breeding Chavchuvens; the Palantsy, of wars with the Evens. The legends of each cycle are centered about the figure of a hero, who is different for every Koryak group. He is called enkhivyl''yn (literally—"strong man," a term close to the Russian "bogatyr'"). 173 [184] [648]

However, the figures of the heroes of all legendary cycles are endowed with the same traits; there are also recurrent motifs, such as attacks on sleeping enemies, deception of enemies with the aid of dummies, or turning enemies to flight by hitting dry skins, creating the sound of footsteps of a rapidly approaching, noisy horde, etc.

Of special interest in Koryak folklore are stories about masters and their workers. These reflect the social stratification which was so pronounced among reindeer-breeding Koryaks at the time of the Revolution. A special subdivision of folk literature dealing with daily life consisted of tales about lucky and unlucky hunters. The Koryaks had also borrowed many Russian tales, but these were changed to such an extent that they were often difficult to distinguish. 773

The Koryaks had few proverbs and riddles. Their songs were also few. 538

Among their musical instruments, we must also mention, in addition to the tambourine, the vanniyayar—literally, "tooth tambourine." This was a device widely found in Siberia: it consisted of a bone or iron plate, with a little tongue cut out in the center. At the base of this tongue was a tiny hole, through which a cord of reindeer sinew was drawn. The plate is held between the lips and the cord is pulled. The vibration of the little tongue produces a low, monotonous hum, resembling the muted sounds of a tambourine; the mouth cavity serves as the resonator. 534

Dances were usually performed during the seasonal celebrations. These were ritualistic, almost always representing extremely naturalistic imitations of the movements of seal, bears, reindeer and ravens. They were accompanied with a characteristic, deeply guttural, hoarse singing. The dancers were chiefly women. 535 [533]

At the seasonal festivals there were also various games and contests: wrestling, foot races, reindeer and dog races, and tossing of people in seal skins. 796 526

The Koryaks produced a large variety of artistic objects of bone, skins, the skin and hair of reindeer, silk, copper and iron plates, etc. The men made bone tobacco boxes with carved or engraved figures of animals, birds and men; bone pipes, ornamented with lead or tin and decorated with figures of bears, wolves, dogs, reindeer, and seals. The women specialized in fur ornamentation with beads, silk and reindeer hair. The fur patterns adorning the hems of Koryak clothes and hats were in the form of mosaics of pieces of black and white reindeer fur. They were either geometrical (squares, 32 531 532 462 794 534 531 [462]